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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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O P 151250 Z MAY 73
FM USDEL SALT TWO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1982
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T USDEL SALT TWO II 0190

EXDIS/ SALT

DOD HANDLE AS SPECAT FOR SECDEF

E. O. 11652: XGDSI
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON' S STATEMENT OF MAY 15, 1973

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE MAY 15, 1973 SALT MEETING.

MR. MINISTER,

I

TODAY I WANT TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AND CERTAIN OTHER NUCLEAR-
CAPABLE WEAPONS SYSTEMS-- WHICH, WHILE NOT CENTRAL TO THE STRATEGIC
EQUATION, NONETHELESS CAN BE PERCEIVED AS AFFECTING IT.

II

WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PRIMARY TASK IN NEGOTIATING A PERMANENT
AGREEMENT IS TO FOCUS ON THE PERMANENT LIMITATION OF THE CENTRAL
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OF THE TWO SIDES. IT IS CLEARLY THESE
SYSTEMS-- THE ICBMS, SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS-- WHICH ARE THE KEY
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FACTORS IN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AND THE
MEGOTIATING RECORD INDICATES THAT BOTH SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THESE SYSTEMS MUST BE LIMITED IN NAY PERMANENT AGREEMENT. OUR SIDE BELIEVES THAT IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS ANY PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHOULD ESTABLISH AN AGGREGATE LIMIT ON THE CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. MOREOVER, TO PROVIDE LONG- TERM EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE TO EITHER SIDE, WE BELIEVE THIS AGGREGATE MUST PROVIDE FOR ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE IN THESE SYSTEMS. FOR OVER THREE YEARS WE HAVE ADHERED TO THIS VIEW, BELIEVING IT TO BE AN OBJECTIVE AND REALISTIC BASIS UPON WHICH TO BUILD A PERMANENT AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIEDS FOR SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES OVER A LONG TERM. ACCORDINGLY, A MAJOR ELEMENT OR OUR PROPOSAL OF MAY 8 IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EQUAL AGGREGATE CEILING FOR BOTH SIDES OF 2350 ICBM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS.

III

WE, OF COURSE, RECOGNIZE THAT IN ADDITION TO THE CENTRAL SYSTEMS BOTH SIDES POSSESS OTHER NUCLEAR- CAPABLE DELIVERY SYSTEMS.
IT IS EVIDENT THAT FROM THE OUTSET THE TWO SIDES HAVE HAD SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THESE SYSTEMS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS MAINTAINED THAT SUCH US SYSTEMS DEPLOYED IN DEFENSE OF OUR ALLIES SHOULD BE UNILATERALLY WITHDRAWN. IT IS THE US POSITION THAT SUCH SYSTEMS ARE DEPLOYED TO SUPPORT AND ASSIST OUR ALLIES IN DEFENDING THEMSELVES AGAINST APPOSING FORCES. THE DOCUMENT ON " BASIC PRINCIPLES" OF MAY 29, 1972, EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND USSR IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AND DOES NOT AFFECT ANY OBLIGATIONS WITH RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES EARLIER ASSUMED BY EITHER SIDE.

WE ARE ENGAGED IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. WE CANNOT CONSIDER IN THESE DISCUSSIONS PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES OR OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT US OBLIGATIONS TO ITS ALLIANCES. THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THESE SYSTEMS WOULD WORK BASIC CHANGES IN REGIONAL MILITARY BALANCES, WITHOUR DEALING WITH THE SITUATION WHICH NECESSITATES OUR DEFENSIVE ALLIANCES AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF US FORCES AT SEA AND ABROAD. IN ANY ASSESSMENT OF THE NON- CENTRAL US FORCES DEPLOYED TO ASSIST OUR ALLIES IN THEIR DEFENSE, THE COMPARABLE SOVIET FORCES WHICH FACE THEM WOULD
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ALSO HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED CONCURRENTLY.

IV

MR. MINISTER, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS,

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AND AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH I MADE ON MAY 8, THE US SIDE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER IN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT RECIPROCAL ASSURANCES TO THE EFFECT THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD CIRCUMVENT THE AGREEMENT THROUGH THE DEPLOYMENT OF NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS. SUCH ASSURANCES WOULD MEET THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES THAT A PERMANENT AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED THROUGH THE DEPLOYMENT OF SYSTEMS NOT LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT. SUCH ASSURANCES ALSO WOULD NOT AFFECT EXISTING OBLIGATIONS OF EITHER SIDE WITH RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES, AND WOULD PROVIDE AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO THIS ISSUE. MR. MINISTER, THIS PROPOSAL PROVIDES A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THESE SYSTEMS AND THUS PERMITS BOTH SIDES TO CONCENTRATE THEIR ATTENTION AND OUR EFFORTS ON THE PRIMARY ISSUE FACING US-- THAT IS, REACHING A PERMANENT AGREEMENT ON CENTRAL STRATEGIC SYSTEMS.
JOHNSON

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS
*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973SALTT00190
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1 JOHNSON
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730542/aaaajbrp.tel
Line Count: 132
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jan-2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <14 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 980209
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MAY 15, 1973
TAGS: PARM, UR
To: SS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005